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# THE TURKOMAN DEFEAT AT CAIRO.

BY SOLOMON BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHN.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.

BY JULIUS H. GREENSTONE.\*

## THE MANUSCRIPT.

The fragment presented in this monograph is from the Schechter-Taylor collection of the Cambridge University Library, No. 174; size  $24.3 \times 9.1$  cm. The writing (text without margin) measures  $23.5 \times 8$  cm. It is one of the Genizah fragments lately<sup>1</sup> unearthed by Professor Solomon Schechter in a ruined synagogue in Cairo, Egypt. It consists of one leaf, written on both sides of the paper, each page being divided into two columns. The writing is in an old, square hand, with a strong turn to the cursive (Rashi script). The whole appears to have been written by one man with the same ink, although some of the vowels, as well as a few minor additions, seem to have been added later in a paler ink. The fragment as a whole is well preserved; the writing is clear; the paper, while somewhat yellowish and broken in folding, escaped the destructive hand of time and presents a fine appearance, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph.

This fragment is not the original composition. It is a copy made either by the author himself or by someone else. This is indicated by the transposition of a few lines which the copyist placed in the wrong place and then, by explicit directions, indicated where the misplaced lines really belonged. L. 93, for example, is placed between ll. 99 and 100, and the copyist, by clear and unmistakable signs (כלל ומרצחים) to succeed the line beginning with the word (ומרצחים), indicates the reinsertion of the line in its proper place. The same is the case with l. 110, which is placed here between ll. 105 and 106, because there was a little room left; but the direction is given that it is to follow the line

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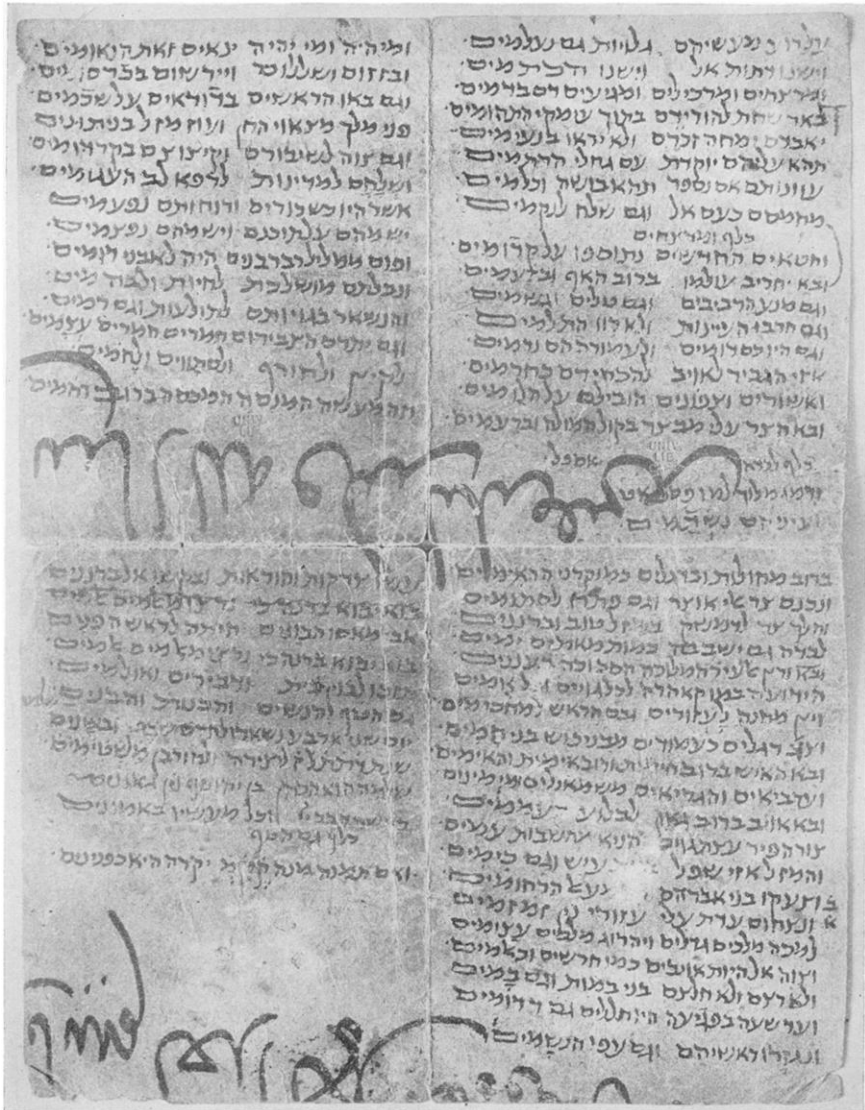
beginning with the word **לכדה** below (**אספל**). L. 146 is placed at the end of the poem, because the copyist omitted it from its proper position. Ll. 120 and 121 are transposed, and are indicated as being so by the letters **ב** and **א** added at the beginning of the lines. The last line, which contains the number of lines in the poem, is probably an addition of the copyist.

On the margin, between ll. 145 and 147, there is inserted the word **שלמה**, in a paler ink, but apparently by the same hand. This is probably of no particular significance. The word **שבט** seems to have been tampered with, but all indications point to the fact that the erasure as well as the correction was done by the same hand.

The manuscript is provided with vowel-points and other diacritical signs in a few places only, where the reading would otherwise not have been very clear. Thus, the **ו** and the **ש** are frequently indicated. The aspirate sounds of **ג**, **ד**, **כ**, **ת**, are indicated by a line over the letter.<sup>2</sup> The **ז** and the **ך** are most frequently so indicated, the **כ** only twice (ll. 128, 129), **ך** once (l. 70), the **ת** twice (ll. 3, 111). There is no instance of the **ב** and **פ** being indicated as aspirates. This, however, may be entirely accidental and does not warrant the conclusion that these letters were not aspirated. All the vowel-signs, known to us at present, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, **ֿ**, as well as the Sheva **ֿ**, occur in this fragment. Once the Pataḥ occurs in the form of a vertical line under the letter, after the Arabic long Fatha over the letter, but here (l. 4) the vowel happens to be short. Peculiar is the combination of the short **ֿ** with the long **ֿ**, the first to indicate that the vowel is short, and the second serving merely as a sign for the vowel *u*.

The Arabic inscription on the second page was probably written before the paper was used for the poem. The writer of the Hebrew poem made use of a sheet that he found, leaving vacant the space occupied by the Arabic. Otherwise there would have been no reason for his leaving the spaces in the middle of cols. 3 and 4. The Arabic inscription itself is unintelligible. It is evident that the sheet was cut off from a larger sheet, the Arabic words being a continuation of the larger sheet.





HISTORICAL SKETCH.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Mustanşir b'Illahi Abu Tammîm Ma'add, the eighth Fatimide caliph of Egypt, was one of the weakest and most effeminate of the rulers who claimed descent from 'Ali and Fatima. His long reign over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine (427-87 A. H., 1035-94 C. E.), the longest reign ever enjoyed by an oriental ruler, was marked with "events and incidents most shameful."<sup>4</sup> The intrigues of his mother, a negro slave, presented to his father, al-Dâhir, by Abu Sa'd Sahl ibn Harûn, a Jewish merchant, brought great misfortune to the people of Egypt, and was the cause of a revolt of the Turkish soldiers under Naşir ad-Daula, which, for a time, threatened the complete overthrow of the Fatimide dynasty and the establishment of the Abasside rule in Egypt and Syria. The rise of the power of the Turkoman tribes under Tugrul Beg, Alp Arslan, and Malik Shah, who were faithful adherents of the orthodox Abasside caliph of Bagdad, favored such a change, and it was only through the wisdom and foresight of the vizier, Badr al-Jamâli, that this was partly obviated. The end of Mustanşir's reign saw Damascus and the greater part of Palestine go over into the hands of the Turkomans, who later became the rulers of the whole of Asia Minor.

Tugrul Beg died soon after he succeeded in establishing peace in the provinces of the Abasside caliph, Al-Ḳaim, and in vanquishing the rebellious general Al-Bassasiri and his army (456, 1063). His nephew, Alp Arslan, succeeded him, and during his reign the rule of the Turkomans extended over a large area of Syria and Palestine. Alp Arslan soon made himself master of Aleppo, and one of his generals, Atsiz ibn 'Auk, wrested Palestine and Syria from the hands of the Fatimide caliph, Mustanşir. He even succeeded in vanquishing the Greeks and released the emperor, Romanus Diogenes, only after a large sum was paid for his ransom (August, 1071). His rule, however, was soon cut short. When on an expedition in Turkestan, he was assassinated by one of the captured chiefs, in 1072. He was succeeded by his son, Malik Shah (1072-92), after a series of civil wars, headed by his uncle, Kawurd. Malik Shah adopted a liberal policy with regard to his princes, which he extended even to those whom he had vanquished, allowed them full liberty to seek new kingdoms, "so that many of the princes later erected their standards under the shadow of his scepter."<sup>5</sup> The affairs of Asia Minor and Syria

were delivered into the hands of his brother, Tutush, who established the Turkoman rule in these provinces on a firm basis.

Matters in Egypt were meanwhile in the most miserable condition. "A great famine, the like of which had never been known since the days of Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt for seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men, and, it is said, a single piece of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold."<sup>6</sup> Pestilence spread through the land in 448, when thousands died daily. As a result of these conditions, the soldiers were not paid regularly, and lawlessness and licentiousness spread through the army. The negro corps, which had the protection and support of the caliph's mother, and which was always hostile to the Turkish soldiers, who constituted the regular army, became much stronger during this time, and the antagonism between the two parties frequently resulted in bloodshed. The court became entirely demoralized; viziers and kadis were changed so frequently during these few years that the chronicler, always painstaking and scrupulous, ceased recording even their names.<sup>7</sup> In 454 open feud broke out between the negro and the Turkish troops, and the country was thrown into a state of civil war, which lasted more than ten years. Naşir ad-Daula, the leader of the Turkish troops, held the caliph for a long period in utter subjection and destitution, burnt the royal palace and the valuable royal library—a loss mourned by scholars to the present day—removed from Cairo all the adherents of the Fatimide dynasty, and contemplated the complete overthrow of the Fatimide rule. It is supposed that he intended to proclaim himself the ruler of the land.<sup>8</sup> The other Turkish generals, however, soon saw through his scheme, and Ildeguz, one of his captains, by strategy, killed Naşir ad-Daula and two of his brothers, and was in consequence appointed to the office of vizier by the caliph, Mustanşir. Ildeguz, however, did not treat the caliph any better than his predecessor, and Mustanşir was obliged to look elsewhere for assistance. Such assistance soon came from a man who, though of lowly origin, possessed the determination and power that make the true leader, and that crowned all his undertakings with glorious success.

Abu-l-Najm Badr, an Armenian slave, purchased by the emir Jamal ad-Daula Ibn-Ammar in Syria, whence he obtained his name al-Jamâli, was a man of a strong will and of an insatiable desire for power and glory. In 455 he was appointed comman-

dant of the important stronghold of Damascus. The soldiers of the city, however, who would not submit to his stringent measures, rose in open revolt and drove him from the city in 456. In 458 he was again appointed commandant of Damascus, but because of another rebellion, Badr remained in 'Akko, as the mayor of the town for a number of years, whence he endeavored to check the constant progress of the Turkoman armies in Syria. In 466 Badr was secretly appointed vizier by Mustanşir. Badr accepted the appointment on the condition that he should be permitted to retain his Armenian corps, and that Ildeguz be taken prisoner. The conditions being granted, Badr arrived in Cairo on the eve of Wednesday, the 28th of Jumādā I, 466.<sup>9</sup> He soon rid himself of all the Egyptian emirs, divided their possessions among his own officers, and made himself master of the situation. Mustanşir, overjoyed at the relief afforded him, showed Badr all honor, presented him with a precious garment, and conferred upon him the title of Emir al-Juyush (chief of the army)—an honorary title held only by a few prefects of Syria—and shortly afterward made him chief-kadi (Kādi-l-Kudāt) and chief court preacher, thus giving him full power over both the secular and the religious affairs of the realm. Badr soon showed himself worthy of the trust put in him. As soon as he established himself in his new position, he set out to restore peace and order in the land. In the course of three years he subjugated all the rebellious tribes on the coast (467) and in upper Egypt (469), showed mildness to the peaceful tribes, and placed the land in a condition of peace and prosperity, the like of which it had not enjoyed for many years.

In spite of his stratagem and diplomacy, Badr was unable to check the steady advance of Turkoman arms in Syria and Palestine, under the leadership of Atsiz ibn 'Auk. Atsiz conquered Jerusalem and Ramla in 463,<sup>10</sup> and began to lay siege to Damascus in the same year. Not successful this time, Atsiz continued his onslaughts on Damascus every year, until 468, when, on account of a war that broke out in the city between the Berber soldiers and the young men of Damascus, the city was delivered into his hands, and the most frightful scenes of carnage ensued. Atsiz then introduced on the Friday Hoṭba, on the 26th of Du-l-Hijja, the name of the Abasside caliph al-Muḩṭādī. The rule of the Fatimide dynasty over Damascus then ceased forever.



Emboldened by this victory, Atsiz determined to continue his expedition against the Fatimide caliph, and proceeded forthwith toward Egypt. He met with little opposition in Syria, and, in 469, he suddenly appeared before Cairo, at the head of a large army of Turkomans, Kurds, and Arabs. His troops were given full freedom to look for booty in the outskirts of the capital, while Atsiz was negotiating with Badr about terms of peace. He was willing to depart from Egypt, if a large sum of money be given to him. Badr, however, only wanted to gain time until his troops, that were still in upper Egypt, should arrive, and until he made some other arrangements for the strengthening of his forces. With his native foresight, Badr was ready for defeat and had prepared vessels, wherein the caliph and himself could make their escape, in case Atsiz succeeded. By bribing the Turkomans under Atsiz, however, Badr was so gloriously successful in an engagement that took place at the beginning of the month Rajab that Atsiz, accompanied by only a small band of adherents, had to escape to Syria, after one of his brothers had been killed and another had lost his arm. In Damascus, where he left one of his brothers in command, everything was in good order, and Atsiz was so pleased with the reception accorded him that he relieved the citizens of the taxes for a whole year. The rest of Syria and Palestine, however, embraced this opportunity to throw off the yoke of the Turkomans, and again declared themselves for Mustanşir and the Fatimide dynasty, so that Atsiz had to begin anew his work of conquest in these provinces. He took Jerusalem after a short siege, and put to death the kadi and other municipal officers, together with three thousand of the inhabitants of the city. He then proceeded to Gaza, and reduced to subjection the inhabitants of Syria as far as Al-Arish, close to the Egyptian boundary. In 471 Badr sent an army under Naşir ad-Daula to Damascus. Atsiz was compelled to call to his assistance the emir Tutush, the brother of Malik Shah who had been appointed prefect of Syria. Tutush hastened to his aid, the Egyptians withdrew without even attempting to oppose him, and Tutush was welcomed by Atsiz at the city gates. Tutush ordered Atsiz to be seized and executed on the spot, being probably prompted by a feeling of jealousy of Atsiz' previous victories, and made himself master of Damascus on the 11th of Rabi II, 472.

Atsiz' siege of Cairo, and his subsequent shameful defeat at

the hands of Badr al-Jamāli, form the burden of this poem. The exultation of the inhabitants of the Egyptian capital over the success of their vizier must have been very great and general among all the classes of the population. There might have been an additional reason that prompted this Jewish poet to rejoice over the defeat of the Turkomans. As appears from the poem, the conquest of Jerusalem by Atsiz was very sorely felt by the Jews. The author dwells at great length on the cruelties perpetrated against the inhabitants of the Holy City, and describes the defeat at Cairo as a direct retribution against the Turkomans. Besides, the Jews were greatly attached to the Fatimide dynasty, and especially to Mustanşir, who treated them kindly and gave them many privileges.

#### THE TEXT.

The origin and development of mediæval Jewish poetry have formed the subject of much scholarly investigation in modern times. The style, method, diction, and metre; the sources, both Jewish and foreign, from which these poets have drawn their inspiration; the influences exerted upon them by contact with Arabic culture; the historical development of the payyetaṇic literature; the special themes of the Jewish poets of the Middle Ages—all these received special treatment by men like Zunz,<sup>11</sup> Delitzsch,<sup>12</sup> Dukes,<sup>13</sup> Geiger,<sup>14</sup> and others. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to a discussion of the characteristics that especially mark the production that is now under consideration.

Our author follows in the footsteps of the earlier Jewish payyetaṇim in employing a language which, although mainly based on biblical Hebrew, diverges widely from it, both as regards the form of expression and the meaning attached to various words. All the payyetaṇim, being saturated with the Talmud and familiar with its mode of expression, frequently thinking of biblical passages, not as they occur in the Bible, but rather in connection with the peculiar interpretation attached to them in talmudic and midrashic writings, indulged in allusions and metaphors that can be understood only by those who have imbibed the spirit of the rabbinical writings and are at home in the vast talmudic and midrashic literature. This fact will not appear strange, when we consider that the Hebrew language was known to these writers, not as a living tongue, but as a medium of religious intercourse, and the religious intercourse of the Jews of all

ages was mainly centered around the Talmud and the liturgy, which was in itself, to a large extent, produced by the rabbis. Hence, the subjects treated by these poets, being mostly of a religious nature, lending themselves readily to such figures as are employed in the talmudic Agada, were naturally colored by the peculiar mode of expression employed in that literature. Thus, while influenced to a large extent by Arabic poetry as regards the outward form, the Jewish poets always remained on Jewish soil, not only in thought and subject-matter, but also in diction, figure, and allusion.<sup>15</sup>

The chief peculiarity of this poem consists in its theme. In the whole realm of mediæval Jewish poetry few poems can be found that deal with a historical event not intimately connected with the history of the Jews. That such poems have not come down to us in large numbers does not prove that they did not exist. It is very likely that some event of great importance stirred the soul of some Jewish poet to compose a song or an elegy, as the case might have required. It merely proves that the Jews of those times, and also of later years, were so much occupied with their own affairs, so much absorbed in the interests of their own religion and history, that they neglected to preserve poems that were not strictly Jewish. Persecution tends to make a people self-centered, especially when solidarity is regarded as the only remedy against entire annihilation. The limited horizon of the mediæval Jews betrays itself chiefly in their devotion to their religion and its observances, and whatever had no direct bearing on faith and ritual was considered of little value. Shut up in the Ghetto by inimical external forces, the Jew voluntarily cramped his interests and aspirations, became callous to events occurring outside of the Ghetto walls, and regarded with indifference incidents that might have stirred the world, but did not directly affect him. Influenced by that particular view-point that the Jew was compelled to take with regard to the outside world, the poets, even those who did not confine themselves to purely religious themes, and wrote on love, wine, and play, produced few poems that deal with secular history. It is therefore of particular interest to find a poem that has but a remote relation to Jewish religion, history, or life, written by a Jew and preserved in a Genizah in a Jewish synagogue.

That the genius of the Hebrew language does not lend itself

readily to a description of battles and sieges can be seen from this poem. Our author is not devoid of poetic genius, and in a few places the narrative is very vivid, and often highly poetic and even thrilling. Still, as a whole, this poem compares very unfavorably with the master-productions of men like Yehudah Halevi, Moses ibn Ezra, and Solomon ibn Gabirol. Influenced by the earlier school of *payyetanim*, whose language is obscure and whose figures are frequently forced, dealing with a subject that is foreign to the Jewish mind and to the Hebrew language, our author produced a poem that is, from the poetic standpoint, of mediocre value only.

There is no particular form of metre followed in this poem. Most of the lines consist of twelve syllables, six in each hemistich, while many<sup>16</sup> follow the regular metre, very often employed by the *payyetanim*, corresponding to the Arabic *Hazaj*,<sup>17</sup> which consists of a composite syllable followed by two plain syllables, twice repeated in each hemistich.<sup>18</sup> It is obvious that the author made no conscious effort to retain this metre all through his poem, since the exceptions are too numerous to allow such a suggestion. The rhyme, however, is strictly observed, all lines, with a few exceptions,<sup>19</sup> ending in ם"ז. This is the simplest and easiest rhyme, since it was of little consequence to change a singular into a plural or a feminine into a masculine in order to get this ending. The author does not follow the alphabetical acrostic, common in mediæval Jewish poetry, nor does he make an acrostic of his own name, according to the practice of the *payyetanim*. He introduces his poem with a quotation from the book of Psalms—a book with which he was very familiar—in place of the regular Arabic introduction, "In the name of the most merciful God." Some might detect in the first five hemistichs an attempt to form an acrostic on the tetragrammaton, a practice largely followed by the later Jewish writers in introducing their compositions. This, however, might have been entirely accidental. The beginning of the poem in l. 3 bears direct signs of Arabic influence.<sup>20</sup>

Our author freely indulges in creating new forms for words, both in forming plurals for nouns and conjugations for verbs. He does not go quite as far as the earlier *payyetanim*, who created, as Zunz<sup>21</sup> puts it, "ephemeral creations," formed for a certain purpose, without any intention to have them become a

part of the language. Still, he frequently deviates from biblical usage in the formation of words and phrases, in most cases for the sake of the rhyme or of completing a line. Of the peculiar plural formations<sup>22</sup> may be mentioned such forms as זַעֲמִים (l. 100), גִּשְׁמִים (l. 101), טָלִים (l. 101), יַמִּינִים (l. 111), שְׂמָאִלִים (l. 111), כִּרְסוּמִים (l. 129), and others; of masculine endings given to feminine nouns may be mentioned such as כְּלָמִים (l. 98, from כְּלָמָה), נִקְמִים (l. 99, from נִקְמָה), רִנְנִים (ll. 109, 142, from רִנְנָה), בָּמִים (l. 125, from בָּמָה), נִשְׁמִים (l. 127, from נִשְׁמָה), בַּהֲמִים (l. 137, from בַּהֲמָה), and others. Our author, like many of the other payyānim, is very fond of rare words and hapaxlegomena. As examples of these may be cited כָּמָה (l. 9), שְׂפָרִיר (l. 38), רָשָׁם (l. 85), עָגָם (l. 133), סָחִיר (l. 140), and others. Great liberty is taken by the author in making new forms for verbs. Besides using verbs in conjugations not found in the Bible, the author also creates new forms, especially when the rhyme requires it. A legitimate liberty is taken by him in treating verbs *mediae geminatae* after the analogy of trilaterals, as הַתָּמִים for הִתָּם (l. 3), הַשְּׁמִים for הִשָּׁם (l. 15), הַהֲמִים for הִהָם (l. 26), which, however, does not occur in the Hiphil.

A characteristic of this poem is the frequent use of the conjunction ו in the beginning of lines—a usage frequently followed by Arabic<sup>23</sup> and Hebrew<sup>24</sup> writers when dealing with subjects that require vivid description. Nearly two-thirds of the lines of this poem begin with ו—a fact that adds vivacity and grace to the description, although much discouraged by more modern writers. The conjunction גם is also used here very often (about fifty-three times), obviously for the same reason. Free use is made of the particle ל, which is used not only to express the indirect object, or with the infinitive to express purpose, but also with verbs that usually take the direct object (*e. g.*, ll. 16, 35, 47, 51, *et al.*). Other peculiarities in style and diction will be noted in the notes to the text.

#### THE AUTHOR.

The name of the author of this poem, as given at the end of the manuscript, Solomon, son of Joseph, Ha-Kohen, is unknown to Jewish history. The poem itself throws but little light on the life of its author. It can, however, be safely assumed that he was an inhabitant of Fostat or Cairo, and that he lived at the time during which the incident narrated here took place. None

but an eyewitness could have described the siege of Cairo, and the incidents attendant upon the appearance of the enemy at its gates, with such minuteness. The high tribute paid to al-Mustanşir and to his vizier Badr indicates that the author lived during the latter part of the reign of Mustanşir. The knowledge that the author displays of events occurring at that time in Syria and Palestine points to the same conclusion. These, however, are all the internal evidences of the identity of our author.

More light is thrown upon the descent and family relations of our author by the epithet he attaches to his name. He calls himself נִיךְ גֵּאוֹנִים (a descendant of Geonim), and this appellation gives us a clue as to his origin. Among the Genizah fragments, lately discovered by Professor S. Schechter, there is one, known as *Megillat Abyathar*,<sup>25</sup> which is of greatest importance to mediæval Jewish history. Professor W. Bacher<sup>26</sup> thinks that a new chapter must be added to Jewish history, as constructed from this fragment. From this document we learn that the office of the Gaonate existed in Palestine for a considerable time, after it had ceased in Babylon with the death of Hai Gaon. The *Megillat Abyathar* presents the contention that existed at that time (1083) about the religious jurisdiction over the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. We shall present here a few facts, gathered from this and from other writings, which have a direct bearing upon the descent and relations of the author of our poem.

Hai, son of Sherira, gaon of Pumbedita, died in 1038. The gaonate in Babylon, which was intrusted with the Jewish religious affairs for nearly four and a half centuries, then came to a close. For a short time<sup>27</sup> after the death of Hai, the office of the gaonate was assumed by Hezekiah, the exilarch, but this was merely nominal—a shadow of the original position. Already during the life of the last gaon, Hai, there is mention of the existence of an academy in Palestine, which assumed the same functions as those exercised by the academies presided over by the Babylonian Geonim.<sup>28</sup> In a fragment, published by Dr. Neubauer,<sup>29</sup> Solomon ben Yehudah is mentioned as the gaon of Palestine in 1046.<sup>30</sup> Joseph, the son of Solomon, is supposed to have been the gaon until 1054, when he died.<sup>31</sup> The gaonate then passed over to Daniel ben Azariah, a scion of the exilarch family. When Daniel died in 1062,<sup>32</sup> Elijah, the brother of Joseph, became gaon and ruled the Diaspora until 1094. When

Jerusalem was wrested from the hands of the Fatimide caliph by Atsiz ibn 'Auk in 1071,<sup>33</sup> the gaon and his academy moved to Tyre. Abyathar, the son of Elijah, became gaon after his father's death, and, in order to vindicate his position against the pretenses of David ben Daniel, the descendant of the Babylonian exilarchs, who was proclaimed exilarch in Egypt, where he had many supporters, and attempted to make also the Palestinian Jews bow to his authority, Abyathar wrote the above-mentioned Megillah (1094). While Abyathar remained in Tyre, the next generation of geonim lived in Egypt.<sup>34</sup>

There can be but little doubt that this Solomon ben Joseph Ha-Kohen, the descendant of Geonim, was a member of the illustrious family of Palestinian Geonim, who prided themselves on their priestly descent. It is, however, uncertain whether he was the son of Joseph who died in 1054. The fact that Joseph lived in Palestine, while our author was apparently an inhabitant of Fostat, would not militate against this supposition. The Jewish communities of Egypt and Palestine were at that time united by many ties. While during the lifetime of Joseph there seemed to have been a feud between these communities on account of the intrigues of Daniel ben Azariah,<sup>35</sup> after the death of the latter, in 1062, peace was restored, and the Egyptian Jewish community willingly submitted to the authority of the Palestinian Geonim.<sup>36</sup> It is therefore not at all improbable that, after the death of his father, Solomon should have settled in Egypt. His praises of Mustanşir and of the government in general, although the government had supported Daniel,<sup>37</sup> is not at all strange. The Jews were always well disposed toward the Fatimide caliphs and neglected no opportunity to express their gratitude for the kind treatment accorded them. This was especially so in the case of Mustanşir, toward whom the Jews entertained the most friendly feelings.<sup>38</sup> Joseph probably died young, since his brother Elijah, who succeeded him in the gaonate, lived thirty years after Joseph's death.<sup>39</sup> Solomon, the son of Joseph, might have been quite a young man in 1077, when the event narrated in this poem occurred. In a *testatum*, copied from Fragment T.-S. 20. 31, dated 1092, and apparently written in Fostat, a Solomon Ha-Kohen, son of Joseph, "the father of the academy,"<sup>40</sup> is mentioned. It is very tempting to identify this Solomon with the author of our poem.

Among the Genizah fragments now in the possession of David Werner Amram, Esq., of Philadelphia, there is one that bears directly upon our subject, and that may serve to clear up the genealogy of this gaonic family. It is a prayer, probably read in the synagogue on the sabbath, for the souls of illustrious dead,<sup>41</sup> and contains the names of Geonim, Negidim, rabbis, and so forth. In the list of the family of Geonim, the following passage occurs, which rather conflicts with the accepted theory about this family: "For the good memory of the dead, the memory of the Geonim of Israel . . . until our lord and master Solomon Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob,<sup>42</sup> and his son Elijah Ha-Kohen, the chief of the academy Geon Jacob, and his brother Joseph Ha-Kohen, the father of the court of justice for all Israel."<sup>43</sup> The fact that Joseph is mentioned after Elijah, and is not given the regular title of "chief of the academy Geon Jacob," borne by the other Geonim, but is called the "father of the court of justice," is rather perplexing. In view of this fragment and of other evidences, I beg to submit the following theory:

It was customary for the eldest son of a gaon to bear the title of "father of the court of justice," or that of "father of the academy." These two titles seem to have been interchangeable, so that one and the same man might be called at one time by one title and another time by the other.<sup>44</sup> It is probable that Joseph, the eldest son of the gaon Solomon, also bore this twofold title during the lifetime of his father. Soon after Solomon's death, Daniel ben Azariah, supported by the government, began his feud against the Palestinian gaonic family, and prevented Joseph from assuming the title of gaon, so that Joseph was really never recognized officially as gaon, and remained up to his death with the title of "father of the court of justice" or "father of the academy." The fact that Abyathar in his Megillah designates him as gaon,<sup>45</sup> merely proves that he recognized him as such, but in official documents, such as the memorial prayer and the *testatum*, he was known only by his official title. Solomon, the son of Joseph, was perhaps too young at the time of Daniel's death, when peace was restored in the community, to claim the title of gaon, which really belonged to him by right of descent, he being the son of Joseph, the eldest son of Solomon. Thus the gaonate passed over to Elijah, Solomon's uncle. In 1082, however, when Elijah called a meeting of all Israel at Tyre and appointed his son



Abyathar as his successor in the gaonate, his son Solomon as the "father of the court of Justice," and a stranger, Zadok, son of Josiah, as "the father,"<sup>46</sup> Solomon, son of Joseph, was displeased, and perhaps gave his support to David, the son of Daniel, the exilarch, who attempted to wrest the authority of the Palestinian Geonim. The *testatum* quoted above was drawn up in "the great court of the lord David the exilarch, son of our lord Daniel Gaon, the Nasi of all Israel;" hence Solomon withheld from mentioning his father's name as Joseph *Gaon*, but refers to him merely as "father of the academy," the title which he held officially. This would still further explain the reason for the great adulation the author gives in this poem to Mustanşir and his court, who is similarly praised by David in another fragment.<sup>47</sup> This suggestion, although not essential to the establishment of the identity of our author, merits some consideration at the hands of scholars. I expect, in the near future, to publish the memorial prayer in Mr. Amram's collection.

## THE TEXT.

## COLUMN 1.

	יִי לְאֶרֶץ יָמִים <sup>49</sup>	יִי יָדִין עַמִּים <sup>48</sup>
	וְהוּא אָבִי הַיְתוּמִים <sup>50</sup>	הוּא דִין אֱלֻמֹּת
	אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְגַם הַתָּמִים <sup>53</sup>	הִרְאִיתִי <sup>51</sup> נִפְלְאוֹת אֵל
	נֹאוֹת קֹדֶר <sup>55</sup> הַתָּמִים	וְגַם הַצִּיל לְבֵית עַלִי <sup>54</sup>
5	הַגִּיד תַּעֲלוּמִים <sup>56</sup>	הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר
	מֵעַד הוֹאֲבָא תָמִים <sup>57</sup>	אֱלֻמֹּתֵנִצֵּר בְּאֵלֶּלָה
	וְגַם יִהְיֶה לְקוֹמִים <sup>58</sup>	יְחִי לְעַד בְּרֹב הַטּוֹב
	הַשְׁתּוּרִים <sup>59</sup> הַשְּׁלִימִים <sup>60</sup>	הַכֹּהֵן בֶּן כַּהֲנִים
	לְכַהֲנָה <sup>62</sup> בְּנֵי אֲדָמִים <sup>63</sup>	וְגַם בְּנֵי הַכַּמִּיּוֹדִים <sup>61</sup>
10	בְּנִשְׁוֹתָם לְחַוִּמִּים <sup>64</sup>	וְגַם עַבְדֵּי הָאֹהֳבִים
	יִהְיֶהוּ דֹר מַעֲוִנִים <sup>66</sup>	וּבִרְאֵשִׁי קִצִּין <sup>65</sup> צְבָאוֹת
	בְּכָל גֵּוִים וְכָל אַמִּים	אֲשֶׁר הוּא רֹאשׁ לְכָל רֹאשִׁים
	לֹא יָבוֹשׁ כְּנִלְמִים <sup>67</sup>	אֲשֶׁר אֹרֹר כְּאוֹר שֶׁמֶשׁ
	וְכָל אוֹיְבִים וְכָל קָמִים	אֲשֶׁר חָרְבוּ מִרוּטָה <sup>68</sup> עַל כָּל
15	וְגַם כָּלָם וְגַם הַשָּׁמַיִם	לְתַכְלִיתָם <sup>69</sup> זְמַנּוֹ <sup>70</sup> אֵל
	אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּם עַלִי רָמִים <sup>71</sup>	לְשִׁירוֹתָם וְאַרְמִנּוֹתָם
	דִּין צֶדֶק בְּאַשְׁמִימִים	וְגַם הַתֵּן <sup>72</sup> רֹאשִׁיהֶם
	יֵאֵילָהוּ <sup>73</sup> לְעוֹלָמִים	יִשְׁגְּבֻהוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
	אֲשֶׁר רִיחָם מִבוֹשְׁמִים <sup>74</sup>	וּשְׁמִשְׁיוֹ וְכָל עַבְדָּיו
20	וְהַכְּבוֹד בְּסִיּוּמִים <sup>76</sup>	וּבִרְאֵשִׁי זֶקֶן הַחֹדֶד <sup>75</sup>

	כמו אחים מותאמים <sup>77</sup>	האהוב הנאמן
	לעזרהו בכל פנים <sup>78</sup>	ישמחהו צורינו
	סגול עם <sup>80</sup> ראש לכל עמים	יערב לך <sup>79</sup> שרינו
	רוב ברכות ורוב שלומים <sup>81</sup>	קחה מנחה ומנוחה
25	ברוב חידה והגיונים <sup>85</sup>	ותן <sup>82</sup> קידה <sup>83</sup> מיחידה <sup>84</sup>
	והכחיד צר וגם ההמים <sup>87</sup>	לאל עזר וגם נצר <sup>86</sup>
	הישרים החמימים	וגם הישיש <sup>88</sup> בני אל חי <sup>89</sup>
	ומתענים וגם צמים	אשר עשו רוב צדקות <sup>90</sup>
	וגם לילות וגם ימים <sup>93</sup>	ושואלים <sup>91</sup> כל שבועים <sup>92</sup>
30	הצור פעלו תמים <sup>94</sup>	לאל ההי והשדי
	וגם ענם ממרומים	והעתירים <sup>95</sup> להסתירים <sup>96</sup>
	ולא קטרת ולא סמים	בלא מנחה ולא קרבן <sup>97</sup>
	ולא תומים ולא חלומים <sup>98</sup>	ולא נבואה ולא אורים
	וגם הימיט לפעמים	וגם הציב למכמורת <sup>99</sup>
35	להקריבו אל תחומים <sup>101</sup>	וגם פיתה ללב <sup>100</sup> אויב
	וגם דרכו <sup>102</sup> האגמים <sup>103</sup>	ויעברו הנהרות
	כנוטרים ונוקמים <sup>104</sup>	ויהיו כאוייבים
	בזוז וגם שפוך דמים	ונכנסו במזו שפיר <sup>105</sup>
	וגם פתחו האסמים <sup>106</sup>	וגם גלו העריות
40	וגם נאזר בנרקמים <sup>108</sup>	והם עם זר מתאכזר <sup>107</sup>
	וגם ראשים לאמים <sup>111</sup>	מחומשים <sup>109</sup> משולשים <sup>110</sup>
	בם שהורים ואדומים	וגם לובשים קובעות <sup>112</sup>
	בנות אשפה <sup>114</sup> בפנימים	וגם קשת וגם כידון <sup>113</sup>
	וינהמו כהמות <sup>116</sup> ימים	ויצעקו כמו פילים <sup>115</sup>
45	אשר <sup>117</sup> למולם <sup>118</sup> מתקוממים	להרעידם להפחידם

## COLUMN 2.

	לשוב אחר מערימים	ויתגודדו <sup>119</sup> כגלי ים
	במז מרמה מתרמים	וללשונם מלעיגים <sup>120</sup>
	וערביאים ואדומים <sup>123</sup>	מעורבבים <sup>121</sup> ארמיניים <sup>122</sup>
	ורופתים <sup>126</sup> ותוגרמים <sup>127</sup>	ויוונים <sup>124</sup> ואשכנזים <sup>125</sup>
50	כשטים <sup>128</sup> לא כהלומים <sup>129</sup>	וגם רעים וחטאים
	וגם היו לשומימים <sup>130</sup>	וישאנו הערים
	וגם לנחול כמדומים <sup>132</sup>	וישמחו בלפוחם <sup>131</sup>
	יהתלו <sup>134</sup> בו הקוסמים	ונמלך <sup>133</sup> הוא במנהשים
	ולמארב הם שמים	ומחנותם מסיעים
55	לעבדיהם נתחמים <sup>135</sup>	והם פוחדים וגם אומרים
	ועיניהם נעצמים <sup>138</sup>	ונכשלו ונחשלו
	בני זמות וגם זמים <sup>138</sup>	ונלכדו בשחיתות <sup>137</sup>
	וחטאותם החתומים <sup>139</sup>	וזכר אל עונותם

	וַיִּצְוּרִים כָּל הַיְּקוּמִים <sup>140</sup>	וַיִּרְעוּתָם אֵלֵי כָל אִישׁ
60	וַיִּכְדֹּךְ <sup>141</sup> בָּם דּוּמִיִּים <sup>142</sup>	וְהַפִּילָם וְהַשְׁפִּילָם
	אֲנָשֵׁי הִירוּשָׁלַיִם	וְגַם זָכָר עֲשׂוּתָם עִם
	שְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים שְׁנֵי פַעַמִּים <sup>143</sup>	אֲשֶׁר הֵצִירוּ לָהֶם
	וְהַחֲרִיבוּ הַמְּקוּמִים	וְגַם שָׂרְפּוּ הַגִּדִישִׁים
	וַיִּרְמְסוּ הַכֶּרְמִים	וַיִּקְצְצוּ הָעֲצִים
65	עַל הַהָרִים הָרִמִּים	וַיִּסּוּבְבוּ אֶת הָעִיר
	וְהַשְׁלִיכוּ הָעֲצָמִים	וְהַחֲרִיבוּ הַקְּבָרִים
	לַחֲסוֹת בָּהּ מִחַמִּים	וְגַם בְּנוֹ אֲרָמוֹנִים
	הָרוּג עֲלֵיו הַזְּעוּמִים <sup>144</sup>	וְהַצִּיבוּ מִזְבֵּחַ
	רוֹכְבִּים עָלֵי הַחֹמִים	וְהָאֲנָשִׁים וְהַנְּשִׁים
70	לִשְׁכֹּךְ <sup>146</sup> רֹב הַחַמִּים	צוֹעֲקִים אֵל אֵל אֱלִים <sup>145</sup>
	לְהַנִּיחָהּ לַתְּנוּמִים	עוֹמְדִים כָּל הַלֵּילָה
	וּמַעֲרִיבִים וּמַשְׁכִּימִים	וְהָאוֹיְבִים מִחֲרִיבִים
	וַיַּחֲשֹׁפוּ <sup>148</sup> הָאֲדָמִים	וַיִּרְעוּ הָאֲרָצוֹת <sup>147</sup>
	עֲשׂוֹת כִּקֵּץ זִמְיָמִים	וְהֵם עוֹמְדִים עַל דְּרָכִים
75	וְגַם הָאֶחָד מִשְׁלִימִים	וְחֹתָכִים הָאֲזִנִּים
	לְהַצִּיגָם עִירוֹמִים <sup>149</sup>	וַיִּשְׁלָלוּ הַמִּלְבּוּשִׁים
	וּכְכַפְּיֵיהֶם מִחַמִּים	וְגַם יִשְׁאֲגוּ כְּאִירוֹת
	וּלְחִיּוֹת הֵם דּוּמִים	וְלֹא יִדְמוּ בְּנֵי אָדָם
	וּבִזְכָּרִים נָחִמִים <sup>150</sup>	וְגַם זִנּוֹת וְגַם זִנּוֹנִים
80	וּמַכְעִיסִים כְּסִדּוּמִים	וְגַם רַעִים וְהַטְּאִים
	וְהַרְעִיבוּ לַמּוֹנַעֲמִים <sup>152</sup>	וַיִּרְוּשׁוּ בְּנֵי טוֹבִים <sup>151</sup>
	וּבִשְׂדֵה הֵם הוֹמִים	וַיִּצְאוּ כָּל בְּנֵי הָעִיר
	מִכְּאָבָם דּוּמִיִּים <sup>154</sup>	וְגַם עוֹטִים עַל שַׁפֵּם <sup>153</sup>
	וְלֹא חָסוּ עַל יְתוּמִים	וְלֹא רִיחַמוּ אֲלֻמְנוֹת
85	וְהַטְּאוּתָם נִרְשָׁמִים <sup>155</sup>	וּמִהָ יַעֲשׂוּ וְאֵן יַחֲסוּ
	וּרְאִשֵׁיהֶם הַחֲכָמִים <sup>156</sup>	וּשְׂרִידֵיהֶם הֵם הַתַּעֲוִם
	וְלִהְרַע מִחֻכְמָנִים <sup>157</sup>	סוֹרְרִים הֵם וְגִנְבִים
	לְהַנְחִיגָם לְבָלוּמִים <sup>159</sup>	וְתַעֲלוּלִים <sup>158</sup> בָּם מוֹשְׁלִים
	וַיִּזְרֹם <sup>161</sup> נִזְרָמִים <sup>162</sup>	וַיִּקְנֹא אֵל <sup>160</sup> לְמִקְדָּשׁ אֵל

## COLUMN 3.

90	גִּלְיוֹת גַּם נַעֲלָמִים <sup>163</sup>	עַל רוּעַ מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם
	וַיִּשְׁנּוּ הַכְּתָמִים <sup>164</sup>	וַיִּשְׁנּוּ דַתּוֹת אֵל
	וּמַגִּיעִים דָּם בְּדָמִים <sup>165</sup>	וּמַרְצָחִים וּמַרְכִּילִים
94	בַּחוּךְ עוֹמְקֵי הַתְּהוֹמִים	בְּאֵר שֶׁחַת לְהוֹרִידָם
95	וְלֹא יִרְאוּ בְּנַעֲמִים	יֵאָבֵדָם יִמְהַה זָכָרָם <sup>166</sup>
	עִם גַּחֲלֵי הַרְתָּמִים <sup>167</sup>	תִּהְיֶה עֲלֵיהֶם יוֹקֶדֶת
	תִּהְיֶה בּוֹשֶׁה וְכִלְמִים	עוֹנוֹתָם אִם נִסְפָּר

	וגם שלח לנקמים כל־הִ וּמְרַצְחִים	מַחֲמָסָם כַּעַס אֵל
93	נְתוּסָפוּ עַל קְדוֹמִים <sup>168</sup> בְּרֹב הָאֶזְ וּבְזַעֲמִים	וַחֲטָאִים הַחֲדָשִׁים וּבֹא יַחֲרִיב עוֹלָמוֹ
100	וְגַם טָלִים וְגַשְׁמִים וְלֹא רוּחַ הַתְּלָמִים <sup>169</sup> וְלַעֲמִוְרָה הֵם נִדְמִים <sup>170</sup> לְהַכְחִידֵם כְּחֶרֶם <sup>171</sup> הוֹבִילָם עַל הַלּוּמִים <sup>173</sup>	וְגַם מִנֵּעַ הַרְבִּיבִים וְגַם חֲרָבוֹ הַעֲיִינֹת וְגַם. הָיוּ כְּסִדּוּמִים אֲזִי הַגִּבּוֹר לְאוֹיֵב וְאֲשׁוּרִים וְצַפּוֹנִים <sup>172</sup>
105	בְּקוֹל הַמּוֹלָה וּבִרְעָמִים אֲסַפֵּל	וּבֹא הָצַר עָלַי מִבְּצָר כֹּלֶךְ לְכַדָּה
110		וְדַמּוֹ מִלּוֹךְ לִמּוֹ פִּסְטָאט <sup>174</sup> וְעֵינֵיהֶם נִשְׁתָּמִים <sup>175</sup>
106	כִּמּוֹ קֶרֶן הָרָאִיִּם <sup>176</sup> וְגַם פֶּתַח לְסִתּוּמִים בְּמִזֵּל טוֹב <sup>178</sup> וּבִרְנָנִים <sup>179</sup> כְּמוֹת <sup>180</sup> מֵאֲתָיִם יָמִים <sup>181</sup> הַסְּכוּכָה בַּעֲנָנִים <sup>182</sup>	בְּרֹב מַחֲלֹת וּבִדְגָלִים וְנִכְנַס צָר אֵלַי אֲרָצַר וְהִלֵּךְ צָר לְדַמְשֶׁק <sup>177</sup> לְכַדָּה גַּם יֵשֶׁב בָּהּ וּבֹא וּרְץ אֵל עִיר הַמְּלוּכָה הַיְדוּעָה בְּמִו קָאֶהֱרָה וַיֵּץ <sup>183</sup> מַחֲנֶה לְעִזּוּרִים
111	מִבְּנֵי כּוֹשׁ בְּנֵי חָמִים וְרֹב אֵימֹת וְהָאִיִּם <sup>185</sup> מִשְׁמָאוּלִים וּמִיַּמִּינִים לְבָלוּעַ (ב) עֲמֻמִּים <sup>187</sup> הֵנִיא מַחֲשָׁבוֹת עַמִּים <sup>188</sup> (ב) עִישׁ וְגַם כִּיָּמִים <sup>190</sup> (וִישׁ) מֵעַ אֵל הַרְחֻמִּים <sup>191</sup>	וְצַג <sup>184</sup> דְּגָלִים כְּעִמּוּדִים וּבֹא הָאִישׁ בְּרֹב חֵימֹת וְעִרְבֵאִים וְהַגְרִיאִים <sup>186</sup> וּבֹא אוֹיֵב בְּרֹב גְּאוֹן צוֹר הַפִּיר עֲצַת גּוֹיִם וְחִמְזוֹ אֲזִי שֶׁפֶל <sup>189</sup> בְּ וְצַעֲקוֹ בְּנֵי אֲבִרָהֶם אֲ וְנִצְחֹם עֲדַת עָלַי לְמַכָּה מַלְכִים גְּדוּלִים וְצוּהָ אֵל הַיּוֹת אוֹיִבִים וְלֹא רָצָם וְלֹא חִלָּצָם וְעַד שְׁעָה בַּפְּגִיעָה <sup>195</sup> וְנִגְזְרוֹ רֹאשֵׁיהֶם
115	מִבְּנֵי כּוֹשׁ בְּנֵי חָמִים וְרֹב אֵימֹת וְהָאִיִּם <sup>185</sup> מִשְׁמָאוּלִים וּמִיַּמִּינִים לְבָלוּעַ (ב) עֲמֻמִּים <sup>187</sup> הֵנִיא מַחֲשָׁבוֹת עַמִּים <sup>188</sup> (ב) עִישׁ וְגַם כִּיָּמִים <sup>190</sup> (וִישׁ) מֵעַ אֵל הַרְחֻמִּים <sup>191</sup>	
121	עִזּוּרֵי נֶיךְ זְמֻזִּים <sup>192</sup> וַיַּהֲרוֹג מַלְכִים עֲצוּמִים <sup>193</sup> כִּמּוֹ חֲרָשִׁים וְכֹאֲלָמִים <sup>194</sup> בְּנֵי בְמוֹת וְגַם בְּמִים הָיוּ חֲלָלִים גַּם דְּרוֹמִים <sup>196</sup> וְגַם עָפּוֹ הַנְּשָׁמִים <sup>197</sup>	
125		

## COLUMN 4.

199	יִנְאִים זֹאת הַנְּאוּמִים	וּמִי הָיָה וּמִי יָהִידָה <sup>198</sup>
200	וַיִּירָשׁוּם בְּכֶרֶסוּמִים	וּבִזְזוּם וּשְׁלָלוּם
201	בְּדוֹדָאִים עַל שְׁכָמִים	וְגַם בָּאוּ הָרָאשִׁים
130	וַעֲזוּ מִזֵּל בְּנִיחֻנִּים <sup>203</sup>	פְּנֵי מֶלֶךְ מִצְאוּרֵי הַחֶץ <sup>202</sup>

	וקיצוצם בקרדומים	וגם צוה לשיבורם
	לרפא לב העגומים	ושלחם למדינות <sup>204</sup>
	ורוחותם נפעמים <sup>205</sup>	אשר היו כשכורים
	ויש מהם נפצמים <sup>207</sup>	יש מהם על תוכנם <sup>206</sup>
135	היה לאבני דומים <sup>209</sup>	ופום ממליל רברבנים <sup>208</sup>
	להיות ולבהמים	ונבלתם מושלכת <sup>210</sup>
	לתולעות וגם רמים	והנשאר בגויותם
	חמרים המרים עצמים <sup>211</sup>	וגם יתים הצבירים
	ולסתווים <sup>212</sup> ולחמים <sup>213</sup>	לקיץ ולחורף
140	המלכה ברוב רהמים	וזו מעשה המנסה
	ובקשו אל ברננים	עשו צדקות והודאות
	היתה לראש הפנים <sup>214</sup>	אבן מאסו הבונים
	כי נרצו מאלמים אלמים <sup>215</sup>	בוא יבוא ברנה
	ודברים ואולמים	תזכו לבנין בית
145	והבנות והבנים	גם הטף והנשים
147	לחדש שבט ובשנים	יום שני ארבע נשאר
	ולחורבן משטמים <sup>216</sup>	שנת דתתלז ליצירה
	בן יהוסף נין גאונים <sup>217</sup>	שלמה הוא הכהן
146	וכל מעשיו באמונים <sup>218</sup>	כי ישר דבר יי
		כלה גם הטף
150	יקרה היא כפיניים <sup>220</sup>	ואם תמנה מנה קִי(ט)מִן <sup>219</sup>

## TRANSLATION.

- The Lord judgeth nations; the Lord, forever and ever;  
 He is the judge of widows, and He is the father of orphans.  
 Hast thou seen the wonders of God, which he did and also completed?  
 How he saved the house of 'Ali, the dwellings of Kedar, the perfect—
5. The great king who relateth hidden things,  
 Al-Mustansir b'Illahi, Ma'ad Abu Tamim,  
 May he live forever in abundance of good, and may he be established eternally,  
 The priest, son of priests, the pure, the perfect—  
 And also his sons, who long for the priesthood, the sons of nations—
10. And also his servants, who love to battle at the risk of their lives,  
 And at their head, the captain of the hosts, (may He who dwells in the upper abodes grant him life),  
 Who is chief over all chiefs, of all peoples and of all nations,  
 Whose light is like the light of the sun, who is not abashed like those who are ashamed,  
 Whose sword is sharpened against all enemies and all those that rise up against him;

15. God appointed him to destroy them, and he did indeed destroy  
     them and laid waste  
     Their walls and their palaces, which they built on the heights,  
     And cut off their heads; a righteous judgment against the guilty!  
     May our God strengthen him, may he strengthen him forever!  
     And his servitors and all his servants, whose odor is fragrant,
20. And at their head, the glorious old man, distinguished in honors,  
     The faithful friend, (he and the king) like twin brothers;  
     May our Creator preserve him, help him at every turn!  
     May it please you, our lord, beloved of the people, head of all nations,  
     Accept tribute and repose, many blessings and much peace.
25. And give cassia of the only one, with much thought and devotion,  
     To God who helped and saved, who destroyed the enemy and  
     utterly confounded (them),  
     And rejoiced the children of the living God, the upright, the perfect ones,  
     Who did much charity, and afflicted themselves and also fasted,  
     And prayed for weeks, both day and night,
30. To the living God, the Almighty, the Rock, whose work is perfect.  
     And he granted their prayers for protection, and answered them  
     from on high,  
     (Although they came) without meal-offering, without sacrifice, without  
     incense, without spices,  
     Without prophecy, without Urim, without Tumim, without dreams.  
     And He ensnared the enemy and often overthrew them,
35. And he lured on the enemy to bring them to the boundary.  
     And they crossed the streams, and passed over the lagoons,  
     And they were like (mortal) foes, as those who are vindictive and  
     revengeful,  
     And they entered Fostat, robbed and murdered,  
     And ravished and pillaged the storehouses;
40. They were a strange and cruel people, girt with garments of many  
     colors,  
     Armed and officered—chiefs among “the terrible ones”—  
     And capped with hemlets, black and red,  
     With bow and spear and full quivers;  
     And they trumpet like elephants, and roar as the roaring ocean,
45. To terrify, to frighten those who oppose them,  
     And press forward as the waves of the sea, they cunningly devise  
     their retreat,  
     And they stammer with their tongues, they endeavor to beguile with  
     craftiness;  
     They are mingled of Armenians, Arabs, and Edomites,  
     And Greeks and Germans, Paphlogonians and Turks;
50. And they are wicked men and sinners, madmen, not sane,  
     And they laid waste the cities, and they were made desolate  
     And they rejoiced in their hearts, hoping to inherit.

- But when (their chief) consulted the soothsayers, the diviners  
mocked him.
- And they broke camp, and placed (men) in ambush,
55. And they hastened in fear, and also told their servants, "let us  
depart from the boundary!" (?)
- And they stumbled and became weak, and their eyes were blinded,  
And they were caught in the net—the sons of adultery.  
And God remembered their iniquities and their sins that are sealed,  
And their evil deeds against all men, that they harassed all creatures,
60. And He overthrew them and humbled them and crushed all the  
hopeful among them.
- He also remembered what they had done to the people of Jerusalem,  
That they besieged them twice in two years,  
And burned the heaped corn and destroyed the places,  
And cut down the trees and trampled upon the vineyards,
65. And surrounded the city upon the high mountains,  
And despoiled the graves and threw out the bones,  
And built palaces, to protect themselves against the heat,  
And erected an altar to slay upon it the abominations;  
And the men and the women ride upon the walls,
70. Crying unto the God of gods, to quiet the great anger,  
Standing the whole night, banishing sleep,  
While the enemy destroy, evening and morning,  
And break down the earth, and lay bare the ground,  
And stand on the highways, intending to slay like Cain,
75. And cut off the ears, and also the nose,  
And rob the garments, leaving them stand naked,  
And also roar like lions, and roar like young lions;  
They do not resemble men, they are like beasts,  
And also harlots and adulterers, and they inflame themselves with  
males,
80. They are bad and wicked, spiteful as the Sodomites.  
And they impoverished the sons of nobles, and starved the delicately  
bred.
- And all the people of the city went out and cried in the field,  
And covered their lips, silent in their pains,  
And they had no mercy on widows, and pitied not the orphans.
85. What should they do, whither should they seek protection, since  
their sins are recorded?
- Their princes led them astray, their chiefs, the wise ones;  
They are robbers and thieves, they are wise only to do evil;  
Children rule over them, leading them with a halter.  
But God was jealous for his sanctuary, and scattered them over-  
whelmed.
90. Because of their evil deeds, the revealed and also the hidden:  
They changed the laws of God, they multiplied iniquities,  
They are murderers and slanderers, cause blood to touch blood,

- And new sins were added to the early ones,  
 To lower them to the pit of destruction, into depths of the deep;  
 95. He will destroy them, He will wipe off their memory, and they  
     shall not see pleasantness,  
 A burning shall be upon them, even burning coals:  
 Should we attempt to count their sins, it would be a shame and a  
     disgrace.  
 Because of their violence, God was wroth and sent vengeance,  
 And he came, destroyed the world, with much wrath and anger,  
 100. And He also withheld the early rain, also dew and rain,  
     The springs were dried up and the beds were not watered.  
 They were like Sodomites, they resembled (the people of) Gomorrah.  
 Then he allowed the enemy to prevail, in order to uproot them  
     (later) with utter destruction.  
 And the Assyrians and the Northerners, he led them for the purpose  
     of striking them down.  
 105. And the enemy came to the fortress, with a noise of roaring and of  
     thunder,  
 With much dancing and with banners, like the horns of the Re'em.  
 And the enemy entered the treasury, and opened the hidden places  
 And the enemy went to Damascus, with a happy star and with  
     songs,  
 And they captured it and dwelt therein, for about two hundred days.  
 110. And they expected to reign in Fostat, but their eyes were blinded.  
 And they came in haste to the royal city, that is protected by clouds,  
 That is known as Cairo, to all peoples and all nations.  
 And there came forth the camp of the saved ones, and among them  
     was the chief of the wise,  
 And placed flags like columns, for the sons of Kush, the sons of  
     Ham.  
 115. And the chief came with great anger and with great terror,  
 And Arabians and Hagrites, to the left and to the right,  
 And the enemy came with much arrogance, to swallow up the  
     nations.  
 But the Rock brought to naught the counsel of nations, He made  
     of none effect the devices of peoples.  
 And their star declined, the daughters of Arcturus and Pleiades,  
 120. And the hosts of 'Ali conquered them—the saved, the descendants  
     of Zamzumim;  
 The children of Abraham cried [and the merciful God harkened],  
 To him who smites great kings and slays mighty kings.  
 And God commanded that the enemy should be like the deaf and  
     the dumb,  
 And he did not favor them, and He did not save them—the wor-  
     shippers at high places,  
 125. And ere He turned to their supplication, they were slain and  
     dead(?),



- And their heads were cut off, and their souls fled away.  
 He who was and will be saith these words.  
 And they robbed them and spoiled them, and vanquished them by  
 cutting them off.  
 And their chiefs came, with baskets upon their shoulders,  
 130. Seeking the accustomed favor of the king, and a happy fate by  
 their submission (?),  
 But he commanded to crush them and to cut them up with axes,  
 And sent them to the provinces to heal the sorrowful hearts,  
 (Of those) who were like drunken men, whose spirits were troubled,  
 Some of them remained sound, others were wounded.  
 135. And the mouth that boasted of great things, became like a speech-  
 less stone.  
 And their corpses were cast to the wild beasts and animals,  
 And the remainder of their bodies, for worms and lizards,  
 And the remainder they gathered up in large heaps of bones,  
 For summer and winter, for autumn and spring.  
 140. And this is the work of the Tester, who protecteth with the multi-  
 tude of His compassion.  
 Do ye charity and give thanks and pray to God with song.  
 The stone that the builders rejected is become the corner-stone.  
 He shall enter with song, for the binders of the sheaves were  
 favored.  
 Ye shall live to see the building of the House, the Temple, and its  
 halls,  
 145. Also the children and the women, the daughters and the sons,  
 For the word of God is upright, and all His works are faithful.  
 The second day, four were left in the month of Shebat, and in years,  
 The year 4837 from the creation, and from the destruction (of the  
 Temple) 1009.  
 Solomon, he is the priest, son of Joseph, descendant of Geonim.  
 150. And if you would count, count 149 (spell "destruction"). It is  
 more precious than pearls.

## REFERENCES.

<sup>1</sup> In the autumn of 1896; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, s. v.; D. Kauffmann, in the Hebrew monthly *Hashiloah*, Vol. II, pp. 385, 481. Many of these fragments have been edited and published in various issues of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (1896-1905) and other magazines.

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<sup>2</sup> Raphe; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1881), Vol. I, p. 41; Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1889), §142.

<sup>3</sup> The main source for this sketch is Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, in "Abhandlungen der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," Vol. XXVII (Göttingen, 1881).

<sup>4</sup> Maḳrīzi, Vol. I, p. 355; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *Biographical Dictionary*, translated by de Slane (Paris, 1842), Vol. III, p. 382.

<sup>5</sup> Gibbons, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Smith (London, 1887), Vol. VII, pp. 155-66; cf. Müller, *Der Islam in Morgen- und Abendlande* (Berlin, 1885), Vol. I, p. 636.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26-28, who quotes Sujuti (Bulak), Vol. II, pp. 92 and 117, where a list of thirty-nine viziers and forty-two chief kadis is given.

<sup>8</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>9</sup> Maḳrīzi, Vol. I, p. 382; cf. Ibn Khallikan, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 612, 613, where a very interesting incident is related about the advent of Badr at Mustanṣir's court.

<sup>10</sup> Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 38; Besant and Palmer, *Jerusalem* (New York, 1890), pp. 120-22.

<sup>11</sup> *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1855); *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie* (Berlin, 1865).

<sup>12</sup> *Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Poesie* (Leipzig, 1836).

<sup>13</sup> *Zur Kenntniss der neuhebräischen religiösen Poesie* (Frankfurt, 1842).

<sup>14</sup> *Jüdische Dichtungen der spanischen und italienischen Schule* (Leipzig, 1856); *Divan des Abu'l-Hassan Julia ha-Levi* (Breslau, 1851); *Salomo Gabirol und seine Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1867).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Dukes, *loc. cit.*, especially pp. 16-29, 112-35.

<sup>16</sup> *E. g.*, ll. 7, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 26, 28, *et al.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Caspari-Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., Vol. II, p. 360.

<sup>18</sup> ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - || ∪ - - - | ∪ - - - ||. The Hebrew name for this metre is יתד ושתי תנועות, יתד ושתי תנועות. בדנת וכן בסוגר. This is the metre adopted in the well-known hymn of the Jewish liturgy beginning with the line

אֲדוֹן עֲלֵינוּ אֱשֶׁר מְלֵךְ, בְּטוֹרָם כָּל חַיִּיר זָבָרָא

See Rosin, *Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Breslau, 1885), Introduction, § 6, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Ll. 11, 22, 25, 109, 112, 117, 131, 142, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150 end in קִים.

<sup>20</sup> See note *ad loc.*

<sup>21</sup> *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 118, and *Beilage*, pp. 374-77.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 64, 70, 75, 77, 79, *et al.*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Ibn Ezra, ed. Kahana, Vol. I, pp. 156-60 (poems on chess play), pp. 191-204 (elegy on the destruction of Jewish communities in Spain); Halevi, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 25-31 *et al.*

<sup>25</sup> Schechter, *Saadyana* (Cambridge, 1903), Fragment XXXVIII, pp. 80-104.

<sup>26</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 79-96.

<sup>27</sup> Two years, according to Ibn Daud, *Sefer Ha-Ḳabbalah*, ed. Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, Vol. I, p. 67; cf. Gratz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. VI, p. 14; a longer period according to *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, ed. Neubauer, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177; cf. Bacher *loc. cit.*, p. 80.

<sup>28</sup> *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIV, p. 233.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>30</sup> Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 82; Epstein in the *Monatsschrift*, Vol. XLVII, p. 345, objects to Bacher's assumption on the ground that Solomon ben Yehudah is not mentioned as a Kohen, a pedigree of which the Palestinian Geonim were particularly proud. Posnanski, however, in his *Schechters Saadyana* (Frankfort, 1903), agrees with Bacher. Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1. That the gaon preceding Joseph was called Solomon is further supported by the fragment in Amram's collection, referred to later.

<sup>31</sup> Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, l. 12.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 15.

<sup>33</sup> See "Historical Sketch."

<sup>34</sup> Bacher, *loc. cit.*, p. 92, and *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V, p. 572.

<sup>35</sup> Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 88, ll. 9, 10.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 18.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XL; Goldziher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, pp. 73, 74.

<sup>39</sup> Died 1084; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 89, l. 23.

<sup>40</sup> יוסה אב הישיבה זצ"ל, quoted *ibid.*, p. 81, n. 2, last name.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Gaster, in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kauffmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 230, 241, Nos. XV and XVI.

<sup>42</sup> ראש ישיבת גאון יעקב was the name of the Palestinian academy, and the title גאון יעקב was the official title borne by the Geonim; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 81, n. 1.

<sup>43</sup> אב בית דין של כל ישראל.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 82, n. 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88, l. 8, יוסה הכהן ואליהו שני גאונים.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 17-19.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, Fragment XII.

<sup>48</sup> Ps. 96:10; cf. Ps. 9:9.

<sup>49</sup> Ps. 93:5.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Ps. 68:6.

<sup>51</sup> Arabic influence. It is the custom of Arabic poets to begin their poems with a rhetorical question. Cf. Ibn Hisham, 516, 517; Ibn Athir, 3, 152, *et al.*

<sup>52</sup> Job 37:14; cf. Mic. 7:15; Ps. 78:11. See Schechter, *Saadyana*, פלאות להראות (Cambridge, 1893), Fragment XVII, l. 6, p. 46.

<sup>53</sup> Analogy of trilaterals for the purpose of perfecting the rhyme. The regular form would be התם; cf. 2 Sam. 20:18.

<sup>54</sup> Regular appellation of the Fatimide dynasty of caliphs.

<sup>55</sup> Mentioned in the Bible as the son of Ishmael (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chron. 1:29); also as the name of a tribe of nomads in the Arabian desert (Isa. 21:16; 42:11; 60:7; Jer. 2:10; 49:28; Ezek. 27:21; *et al.*). In mediæval Jewish literature this name was used generically for all Mohammedans. See Ibn Ezra's commentary to Dan. 11:30, זהו הקדרי ראש מלכות, ברת ישמעאל; also Rosin's edition of Ibn Ezra's *Poems* (Breslau, 1887), Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; Halevi, ed. Harkavy (Warsaw, 1893), Vol. II, p. 11; Al-Charizi, *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka (Warsaw, 1899), pp. 8, 118; Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXIII, verso l. 8, p. 50. Kedar is also supposed to have been the ancestor of Mohammed himself, according to Arabic tradition; see Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, Vol. I, 175, quoted in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VIII, p. 462.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Job 11:6. Masculine instead of feminine ending (Ps. 44:22) for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>57</sup> The full name of the caliph is المستنصر بالله ابو تميم معد. The author transferred the last phrase for the sake of the rhyme and added הוא, the last of which is also to be joined to the next word.

<sup>58</sup> The word קנים, which is frequently used by the mediæval payyetanin as one of the epithets by which God is described (cf. *הי וקים נורא ומרום וקדוש*), used as a refrain in various parts of the liturgy for the holidays; cf. Berakoth, 32a, is probably borrowed from the Arabic قَيُّومٌ "lasting, unchangeable, God." Cf. Ben Sira [ed. Levi], chap. v, 42:23.

<sup>59</sup> טהור denoting ethical purity is found only in the later books of the Bible (Job 14:4; Prov. 22:11), and rarely used as a noun (cf. Eccles. 9:2, where it is used in parallelism with צדיק and טוב). In rabbinic and mediæval Jewish literature this word is also rarely used as a noun (cf. Baba Mezia', 86a, שגופך טהור ונשמתך טהור).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Shabbath, 33b, in interpretation of Gen. 33:18. In later Hebrew שלם is used in a more abstract sense, denoting intellectual and moral perfection. It is frequently employed in the long epithets preceding the name of one to whom a letter is addressed, either with or without the word ההכם.

<sup>61</sup> Hapax., Ps. 63:2.

<sup>62</sup> כהנה as applied to the caliphate, and כהן (l. 8) to the caliph, is rather unusual.

The Arabic كَاهِنٌ (*Kor.*, LII, 29) is applied to a soothsayer, usually the instrument of a demon. It is sometimes also used in the sense of priest. The Hebrew כהן, besides its regular meaning, is sometimes used to denote a king or a prince (Gen. 14:18; Exod. 2:16; 3:1; 18:1; Zech. 6:13; cf. 2 Sam. 8:18, where the children of David are called כהנים; also 20:26, where Ira the Jairite is called כהן לדוד). From Gen. 14:18 it appears that the king, who also performed priestly functions, was given the name of כהן. This may be the reason why our author uses this designation for the Egyptian caliph, who was regarded as the ecclesiastical chief of the Mohammedan world, at least by his followers.

<sup>63</sup> This plural of **אִמּוֹת** is found only once (Ps. 117:1); otherwise the plural is **אִמּוֹת** (Gen. 25:16 [Ishmael], Numb. 25:15 [Midian]). The form **אִמּוֹת** is not found in the Bible; cf. l. 12, where the **י** is omitted.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. 2 Sam. 23:17, **הַהֲלָכִים בְּנַפְשֹׁתָם** (A. V. "that went in jeopardy of their lives"). The expression **הַשְׁלִים נַפְשׁוֹ** is frequently used in payyetaṇic literature to denote the idea of sacrificing oneself; see Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 641, n. 15.

<sup>65</sup> See Judg. 11:6, 11; Josh. 10:24.

<sup>66</sup> Especially applied to divine abode; see Ps. 68:6; 90:1; 2 Chron. 19:27; cf. Montgomery, "The Place," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XXIV, Part I (1905), p. 26.

<sup>67</sup> See 2 Sam. 19:4.

<sup>68</sup> Ezek. 21:14, 33.

<sup>69</sup> In biblical usage "extreme" (Ps. 134:22). In rabbinic literature it sometimes has the meaning of destruction, in the same sense as used here; cf. Numb. Rabba, XVIII, 12.

<sup>70</sup> Late Hebrew (Ezra 10:14; Neh. 10:35; 13:31), and rabbinic. The regular term for the summons of the court of justice is **הַזְמִנָּה** (Kiddushin, 70a).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Ps. 78:69.

<sup>72</sup> Aramaic and rabbinic (Hulin, 33a), probably related to the Arabic **هَكَذَا** = "to cut through, tear through," hence "decide" (Dan. 9:24); cf. Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, p. 23; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v.

<sup>73</sup> Denominative from **אָזַל** ("strength," Ps. 22:20; 88:5). The verb is not found; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 111, Fragment XLI, l. 7.

<sup>74</sup> The verb not found in the Bible. In rabbinic literature it means "to be pleasant" (Lam. Rabba, I, 38; Gen. Rabba, LXXXV, 4; Sukkah, 51a), and also "to be intoxicated" (Megillah, 7b; Baba Bathra, 73b; Shabbath, 66b; Sanhedrin, 38a), probably associated with the Arabic **بَسَمَ** = "to laugh, to be cheerful." The term **מְבוֹשֵׁם** is used in common parlance as a euphemism for "drunk." For the expression **רֵיחַ מְבוֹשֵׁם** see Cant. 4:10.

<sup>75</sup> Refers to Badr al-Jamālī, at that time about sixty-two years old. He is probably the same one referred to in l. 11 as **קֶצֶר צַבָּאוֹת**, since he held both offices at that time, that of chief of the army, chief kadi and chief court preacher; see "Historical Sketch."

<sup>76</sup> Rabbinic, "completion, perfection" (Baba Mezia', 76b); also "to make a sign" (cf. **סִימָן**, Arab. **سِيمًا**, Gr. **σημα**). Here marks of distinction that were conferred upon Badr by the caliph.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Cant. 4:2; 6:6; for the idea, cf. Ps. 33:1; see Zunz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69, 648. Probably refers to the friendship that existed between Badr and Mustanṣir.

<sup>78</sup> Used here in the same sense as the Arabic phrase **مِنْ كُلِّ وَجْهٍ** in every instance. The more usual form in mediæval Hebrew, however, is **עַל כָּל פָּנִים**.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Mal. 3:4; Ps. 104:34.

<sup>80</sup> A play on **עַם סֹנְהָ** (Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18; cf. Eccles. 2:8; Baba Bathra, 52a). The term **סֹנְהָ** is not found. Used in later Hebrew in describing a man who is beloved by the people or by his fellow-students; see Schechter, *loc. cit.*, p. 63, n. 4.

<sup>81</sup> "Greetings;" cf. Berakoth, 14a.

<sup>82</sup> Meaning somewhat obscure.

<sup>83</sup> Exod. 30:24 ("in sacred oil"); Ezek. 27:19 ("merchandise"); see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, §§ 290, 295.

<sup>84</sup> An epithet given to Israel; see Ps. 68:7, and Rashi, *ad loc.*; cf. in liturgy for the festival of Sukkoth, Hosha'anot, s. v. **אֵם אֶחָד לַיְחִידָה**, "the only one (Israel) to proclaim Thy unity."

<sup>85</sup> **חִידָה** = "allegory, parable" (Prov. 1:6; Ezek. 17:2); **הַגִּירוֹנִים** = "musing, meditation" (Ps. 19:5). Plural not found. "With earnest prayer."

<sup>86</sup> Play on caliph's name.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Exod. 14:24; 23:27; see l. 3 and note.

<sup>88</sup> Hiphil not found.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Deut. 14:1.

<sup>90</sup> "Charity," later usage of the word. Cf. Berakoth, 6b, **אֲנָהּ דְּתַעֲנִיתָ צְדָקָתָא**, "the merit in fasting lies in the charity distributed on that day."

<sup>91</sup> Cf. 'Aboda Zarah, 7b.

<sup>92</sup> This form of the plural is found only in Dan. 9:24, 25, 26; 10:2, 3; otherwise שְׁבוּעֹת (Exod. 34:22; Deut. 16:9, 10, *et al.*).

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Ps. 42:4; 22:3.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Deut. 32:4.

<sup>95</sup> As a rule, used in Niphal with ל (Gen. 25:21; Isa. 19:22).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Ps. 64:3.

<sup>97</sup> See liturgy for Musaf of the Day of Atonement ('Abodah), s. v. ומרוב עוֹנֵינוּ, where an alphabetical list is given of objects that Israel missed after the destruction of the temple. Cf. 1 Sam. 28:6.

<sup>98</sup> The lowest form of prophecy (Gen. 37:5-9; 40:8-19; chap. 41; Numb. 12:6; Job. 33:15; *et al.*). Much importance was attached to dreams in talmudic times, the most famous rabbis discussing dreams and their consequences with the greatest earnestness. Cf. especially Berakoth, 55a-57b; Hagigah, 5b. In the Middle Ages dreams were regarded by Jews with much concern (see Halevi, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 61, and Harkavy's note on p. 190), and to the present time Jews go to the rabbi for the purpose of having their dreams interpreted (see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Dreams").

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Jer. 5:26; Hab. 1:15.

<sup>100</sup> פָּחָה with ל not found in Bible, usually takes direct object (Exod. 22:15; Jer. 20:7).

<sup>101</sup> Aram. תְּחֻמָּא, Arab. تَحْمِيمٌ = "boundary." In rabbinic legal phraseology, referring to the distance one may walk outside of the city limits on the sabbath, the term תְּחֻמֵּי שַׁבָּת denotes 2,000 cubits on each side of the city; 'Erubin, 51b, *et al.*

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Hab. 3:15; Job 9:8; דָּרַךְ without preposition is unusual.

<sup>103</sup> Characteristic of Egypt; cf. Exod. 7:19; 8:1.

<sup>104</sup> Lev. 19:18; Nah. 1:2; in later Hebrew the phrase assumed a stronger meaning, "vindictive;" cf. Shabbath, 63a; Yoma, 23a.

<sup>105</sup> "Royal canopy" (Jer. 43:10). In the translation the view expressed by Bacher (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1), identifying שְׁפָרִיר with Fostat, was adopted; cf. Schechter, *loc. cit.*, Fragment XXXVIII, p. 89, l. 28 and n. 12. For the etymology of שְׁפָרִיר see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 126.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Deut. 28:8; Prov. 3:10.

<sup>107</sup> Denominative from אָכַר; cf. Numb. Rabba, VIII, 4.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Judg. 5:30 ("spoils of war"); Ezek. 26:16 ("garments of princes").

<sup>109</sup> Form probably influenced by מְשֻׁלָּשִׁים; חֲמֻשִּׁים = "in battle array" (Exod. 13:18; Numb. 32:17; Josh. 1:14; 4:12; Judg. 7:11; cf. Halevi, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 28 = "ready, prepared").

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Gen. 15:9; Ezek. 42:6; Eccles. 4:12; here probably denominative from שָׁלִישׁ = "officer" (Exod. 14:7; 2 Kings 7:2, 17, 19; 9:25; 15:25). Perhaps "divided in lines of five and three."

<sup>111</sup> "Terrors," ancient inhabitants of Moab (Gen. 14:5; Deut. 2:10, 11; Jer. 50:38; and Targum Jonathan, *ad loc.*, see l. 115).

<sup>112</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. 17:38; Ezek. 23:24 = כֹּבֵעַ, Ezek. 27:10; Isa. 59:17.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Jer. 6:23; 50:42.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Lam. 3:13 (בְּנוֹת אֲשֵׁפָה); see Job 39:23; בְּנוֹת אֲשֵׁפָה not found.

<sup>115</sup> Arab. فَيْلٌ, Aram. פִּילָא, is recorded as having been used by Antiochus in his wars against the Maccabees, for the purpose of carrying confusion into the ranks of the enemy (2 Macc. 15:20; 3 Macc. 5:2; 1 Macc. 1:16; 4:30). In the Talmud better known because of its size than because of the noise it produced (Berakoth, 55b; Shabbath, 77b; cf. Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, §173).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Isa. 17:12.

<sup>117</sup> Aramaic construction, accusative suffix with pronoun.

<sup>118</sup> מֵרֵךְ in the sense of "opposite to" or "against" is not biblical; it usually means "in front of" without any idea of opposition.

<sup>119</sup> Denominative from גָּרַד; cf. Jer. 5:7; Mic. 4:14.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Isa. 28:11; 32:4; 33:19.

<sup>121</sup> Reduplication from ערב, which is not found as a verb, but as a noun, indicating a heterogeneous body attached to a people (Neh. 13:3; Exod. 12:38 [ערב רב]; perhaps reduplicated for emphasis, as in פקה קרה, Isa. 61:1; לחפר פירות, Isa. 2:30; see Olshausen, *Hebräische Grammatik*, p. 354). In rabbinic literature this reduplication occurs with the meaning of mixing, confounding (Sanhedrin, 42a; Targum to Numb. 11:4 [ערברבין = אספה]; Kil'aim, V, 1, Exod. Rabba, XI, 3.

<sup>122</sup> Armenians were known to the Jews as early as the time of the Maccabbees (Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, 14, 4; cf. Yebamoth, 45a [captives that came from Armenia], cf. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud*, pp. 370, 371).

<sup>123</sup> Regularly used by mediæval Jewish writers to designate Christians, while "Ishmael" was the collective name for Mohammedans; see Rosin, *Ibn Ezra*, Vol. II, p. 90, n. 6; cf. I. 4, n. 8.

<sup>124</sup> Ionians, Greeks (Ezek. 27:13; Joel 14:6); descendants of Javan, son of Japheth (Gen. 10:2; cf. Baba Ḳama, 82b; Megillah, 9a; et al.).

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Gen. 10:3; Jer. 51:27; see Gen. Rabba, XXXVII, 1, where all three אשכנז ריפת and גרמניקא are identified with Yoma, 10b. In modern Hebrew this is the common appellation for Germany. See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. II, s. v. "Ashkenazim."

<sup>126</sup> Gen. 10:3; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, I, 4, 1 = Paphlogonians.

<sup>127</sup> Gen. 10:3; Ezek. 27:14.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Ḥagigah, 3b.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Isa. 38:16; Job 39:4. In rabbinic literature used in opposition to שוטה (Rosh Hashanah, 28a; Tosefta Terumoth, I, 3; cf. Ibn Ezra, *Poems* [ed. Kahana], Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Isa. 6:11.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Exod. 4:14.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Esther 4:13.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Neh. 5:7.

<sup>134</sup> In the sense of "to fool, deceive;" cf. 1 Kings 18:27; Job 17:2.

<sup>135</sup> Obscure. Perhaps from rabbinic תחום = "boundary, to surround" (Baba Bathra, 56a; Pesikṭa, 137b). The context, however, points to נתחמים being the object of אומרים and not an epithet of עבדים. It is possible that it was meant to convey some such idea as "let us warm up, be inspired with hope" (נתחמים), but this is very much forced.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Isa. 29:10; 33:15.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Lam. 4:20.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. l. 79 זמים is added to fill up the line and for the sake of the rhyme.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Halevi (ed. Harkavy), Vol. I, p. 93, וכלם בטבעת ימין עליון חתומים, Vol. I, p. 93, referring to nature generally. Here the reference is to sins that are recorded in heaven; cf. Musaf prayer for the New Year and the Day of Atonement, s. v. ונתנה חקה, where it is supposed that every man testifies to his sins by his own signature בר אדם בר.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Gen. 7:4, 23; Deut. 11:6, not found in plural.

<sup>141</sup> Reduplication from דכך or דכא = "to crush;" cf. Targum to Ps. 143:3; Lev. Rabba, XXXIV, 6; cf. Ben Sira (ed. Levi), 4:2.

<sup>142</sup> "Silent, resigned," but perhaps "hopeful;" cf. Ps. 37:7; 62:6; Job 29:21. In 'Aboda of Jose ben Jose, דמומים = "dead;" see Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 27.

<sup>143</sup> See "Historical Sketch." The second attack on Jerusalem occurred after the incident narrated here, but soon after. The expression "two years" is inaccurate, for the first conquest of Jerusalem took place in 463 A. H., while the second attack occurred in 469 A. H.

<sup>144</sup> "Hateful, hated" (cf. Prov. 22:14, זעום ר"י = "he with whom God is angry, the abhorred of God"); cf. Halevi, Vol. I, p. 93, רגעור רועמים, "hateful moments."

<sup>145</sup> Cf. Dan. 11:36.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Esther 2:1; 7:10.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Isa. 24:19.

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Ps. 29:9; Jer. 49:10.

<sup>149</sup> Hos. 2:5; Jer. 51:34.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Isa. 57:5, from חמם = "inflame themselves." Here possibly from נחם = "console themselves."

<sup>151</sup> "Of noble descent;" cf. Tosefta Sheḳalim, II, 16.

<sup>152</sup> "Delicate, daintily bred" (מעננה, Jer. 6:2; עננה, Deut. 28:56); cf. Giṭṭin, 56a, the story of Martha, daughter of Boetus.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Lev. 13:47; Ezek. 24:17, 22; Mic. 3:7, prescribed for the mourner and for the leper. The reason for this custom in the case of the mourner has been variously explained by critics. The view of the older critics (Kamphausen, Hitzig, and Smend), that this was to serve as a symbol to the mourner that he was not to speak, although somewhat supported by rabbinic tradition, is rightly criticised by Frey (*Altisraelitische Totentrauer* [Jurjev, 1898], pp. 10-12). His criticism may further be corroborated by the fact that in Lev. 13:45 the leper is commanded to cover his lips and to cry out: "Unclean! Unclean!" The explanation offered by Frey, however, is rather unsatisfactory, nor does Schwally (*Leben nach*

*dem Tode* [Giessen, 1892], p. 16) offer a satisfactory explanation of this custom. More convincing is the suggestion of Toy (*Polychrome Bible*, Ezek. 24:17, note), that, in mourning, one is to reverse his habit of life. The beard was regarded as an ornament, hence it must be covered during the period of mourning. The difficulty only is that שֹׁפֵם does not mean the beard; at most it can have reference to the mustache.

According to rabbinic law, neither the mourner nor the leper was permitted to accost friends with the usual greeting. While in the case of the leper the law was derived from the expression עֲטָה עַל שֹׁפֵם, in the case of the mourner the law was based on another expression (דִּרְאָנֶק דָּם, Ezek. 24:17). They also identified the covering of the head with the covering of the lips, thus making it obligatory upon the mourner and the leper to cover the head up to the lip, "like the covering of the Ishmaelites" (כַּעֲטִיפַת יִשְׁמַעֲאֵלִים; Mo'ed Kaṭan, 15a; cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. עֲטִיפָה).

<sup>154</sup> See n. 143. This would point to the view that the covering of the lips was regarded as a symbol of silence. Cf., however, Brown's edition of Gesenius, *Heb. Dictionary*, s. v. דָּמָם, II, where the word is also given the meaning of "wailing" (Ass. *damamu*), especially in Isa. 23:2; cf. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, n. 2.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Dan. 10:21; see n. 139. <sup>156</sup> Cf. Isa. 3:12; 9:15. <sup>157</sup> Cf. Jer. 4:22. <sup>158</sup> Cf. Isa. 3:4.

<sup>159</sup> "By halters, muzzled;" cf. Ps. 32:9; Hulin, 89a (based on Job 26:7); Targum to Isa. 32:4.

<sup>160</sup> Cf. Zech. 1:14; 8:2; Joel 2:18; Ezek. 39:25.

<sup>161</sup> From זָרָה (= "scatter," Ezek. 5:10, 12).

<sup>162</sup> "Carried away as by a flood;" cf. Ps. 90:5; 77:18.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Deut. 29:28.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Jer. 2:22. This is rather an unusual meaning given to the word כְּתָם. In rabbinic literature it is used as a technical term, referring to a dark-red stain on a woman's clothes or body, as an indication of uncleanness (Niddah, 4b, 5a; cf. Syr. כְּתָם = "stain"). In the Bible it means "gold" (Prov. 25:12; Job 28:19; Cant. 5:11; Lam. 14:1). In later Hebrew it means "a stain," from which the idea of "sin" or a "stain on the soul" was taken (cf. Isa. 1:18; Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 16:1; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 32). Here the meaning probably is "they multiplied sins," a play on שָׁנָה or שָׁנָן.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Hos. 4:2; Alcharizi, *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Deut. 25:19.

<sup>167</sup> Arab. كَرْم, Aram. כְּרִתְמָא = a kind of brown plant (Ps. 120:4; Job 30:4). It is supposed to produce great heat and retain the heat for a long time (see Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 386; cf. Cheyne, to Ps. 120:4). The embers of this plant are taken as a symbol for various things (cf. Midrash Tehillim, *ad loc.*), but especially for the fire of Gehenna ('Arakin, 15b); cf. services for the Eve of Atonement, s. v. כְּתוּרָם).

<sup>168</sup> Cf. Jer. 3:3.

<sup>169</sup> Cf. Ps. 65:11.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Isa. 1:9.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Mal. 3:24.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Jer. 2:20. "Assyrians and Northerners" here seem to refer to no particular nation, but used as a general appellation for the enemy.

<sup>173</sup> A strange expression; cf. Prov. 23:25; Ps. 74:6; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. I, p. 63.

<sup>174</sup> For the derivation of the word فُسْطَاط see Butler, *Arabic Conquest of Egypt* (Oxford, 1902), p. 340 and note; cf. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XV, p. 87, n. 1; see n. 106.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. Numb. 24:3, 15; Gen. 19:11.

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Ps. 22:22; Deut. 33:17; Shabbath, 107b; 'Abodah Zarah, 3b; Zebahim, 113b; cf. Cant. 6:4, 10; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, pp. 58 sqq., a disquisition on the word דִּבְלָל and its usage in Assyrian. For רָאם cf. *ibid.*, pp. 15 sqq., 23; Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, § 174.

<sup>177</sup> See "Historical Sketch."

<sup>178</sup> "Good star, or luck." the regular greeting among Jews on joyous occasions. מִזַּל meaning "luck" is frequently used in rabbinic literature (Ta'anith, 29b; Shabbath, 53b; *et al.*). Our author is especially fond of this expression; see ll. 119, 130.

<sup>179</sup> The plural of רִנָּה or רִנְנָה (Job 3:7) is found once as רִנְנִית (Ps. 63:6). The plural רִנְנִים is found in Job 39:13, meaning "singing birds."

<sup>180</sup> "Like as," "about" (Kethuboth, 17a; Shabbath, 51a; Mishnah Berakoth, V, 5).

<sup>181</sup> The number 200 days is probably very nearly correct. Damascus was taken by Atsiz in Du-l-Hijja of 468, and the siege of Cairo took place in 469 (Jumada II, 24), which would make the intervening period about six months.

<sup>182</sup> Probably a reminiscence of the Israelitish camp in the wilderness that was protected by a column of cloud by day and by a column of light by night (Exod. 13:21, 22; Deut. 1:33; cf. Ps. 18:12; Job 36:39; Lam. 3:43).

<sup>183</sup> Probably shortened from **רִיצָא**; cf. Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 121.

<sup>184</sup> Analogy of **עָרַר** verbs.

<sup>185</sup> **אֵימִים** added for the rhyme; cf. *Tachkemoni* (ed. Kaminka), p. 81, where **אֵימִים** is used as plural of **אֵימָה**; otherwise the plural is **אֵימֹת** (Ps. 55:5).

<sup>186</sup> An Aramean or Arabic tribe against whom the Reubenites waged war during the reign of Saul (1 Chron. 5:10, 19). In the last-quoted verse it is mentioned in connection with **רִטְרָד** and **נַפִּישׁ** (cf. Gen. 25:15; 1 Chron. 1:31), thus indicating the descent from Ishmael (cf. Ps. 83:7). In rabbinical times and in mediæval Jewish literature Hagri was identified with Arabia, and later generally with the Mohammedan world (Numb. Rabba, XIII, 3; Halevi, *Poems*, Vol. II, p. 20; *Tachkemoni*, ed. Kaminka, p. 10; cf. Kaempf, *Die erste Makamen aus dem Tachkemoni oder Divan des Charizi* [Berlin, 1845], p. 72, n. 11. It is also identified with Hungary, especially by modern Jewish writers; see *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Hagar," "Hagrim."

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Judg. 5:14; Neh. 9:22, 24.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. Ps. 33:10; **צֹרֵר** perhaps a reminiscence of the caliph's name.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Isa. 2:9, 11, 17.

<sup>190</sup> Favorite expression with mediæval Jewish poets, especially with Halevi; see his *Poems*, ed. Harkavy, Vol. I, pp. 48, 50, 97, 123, 128, 144; Vol. II, pp. 48, 49, 51, 52; *et al.* The expression **עֵשׂ עַל בְּנוֹת עֵשׂ** is not found in the Bible; cf. Job 38:22, **עֵשׂ עַל בְּנוֹת עֵשׂ**.

<sup>191</sup> Arabic influence **اللّٰه الرحمان الرحيم**. In Hebrew liturgic literature the usual expression is **אל הרחמים**.

<sup>192</sup> Deut. 2:20; name given by the Amonites to the Rephaim who once inhabited their land, but had afterward been expelled by them, a people "great and many and tall like the Anakim;" cf. Driver, *ad loc.*; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, s. v. Here used figuratively for a strong people.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Ps. 136:17, 18; 135:10.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. Ps. 38:14.

<sup>195</sup> **שָׁעָה** with **ב** means "to delight in" (Ps. 119:117); here, however, "to listen to prayer;" cf. Gen. 4:4, 5; see Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 39. **פָּנֵה**, meaning "to pray," is found in the Bible (Isa. 53:12; Jer. 36:25), and also in rabbinic literature. (Hulin, 91b; Gen. Rabba, LXVIII, 11, referring to Gen. 28:11; cf. Rashi, *ad loc.*).

<sup>196</sup> Perhaps **רְדֹמִים** "benumbed, dead;" cf. Esther Rabba, VII, 18, Yozer for Purim s. v. **בְּרֹאשָׁה**.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. liturgy for Shabu'oth, s. v., **אֶתִּי מִצִּוֹת וְחֻקִּים**, where the same form occurs; Berliner, *Synagogale Poesie* (Berlin, 1884), Vol. I, p. 18.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. hymn in daily liturgy, s. v. **וְהוּא הוּא וְהוּא הוּא: אֲדוֹן עוֹלָם**. **יְהִיָּה בִּתְפָאָרָה**.

<sup>199</sup> Plural not found. As verb found only in Kal, Jer. 23:31.

<sup>200</sup> Quadriliteral from **כָּסַם**, with the insertion of **ר** (Ps. 80:14); cf. rab. **קָרַס** "cut, prune," (of insects) "bite, nibble" (Peah, II, 7; Shabbath, XII, 2); cf. Arab. **يَقْرِضُهَا** = "to cut," and Saadia's commentary to Ps. 80:14, **قَرَضَ**.

<sup>201</sup> This passage may be taken to refer either to the chiefs of the enemy coming to the king with baskets on their shoulders (as a sign of submission; cf. Ps. 81:7, and Delitzsch, *ad loc.*), or to the heads, literally, of the enemy being brought to the king by his own officers in baskets, as a sign of victory (cf. 2 Kings 10:17, the heads of the children of Ahab brought to Jehu). The first rendering is adopted in the translation, although the second is also possible.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Esther 8:5 with **לְפָנַי**; passive participle not found in the Bible; in rabbinic literature usually spelled without **א** and has the meaning of "accessible, frequent" ('Arakin, 30b; Sanhedrin, 86a). The meaning here is obscure. They came (to meet) the king who is *given* to grace, magnanimity (?). Emendation of **מִצָּאָר** would not be borne out by the context.

<sup>203</sup> Obscure. "Presents, gifts" (?); cf. Pesahim, 21b, but there **נְתִינָה**. Perhaps "the star was powerful in their being delivered."



<sup>204</sup> Cf. Judg. 19:29, 30, the incident at Gibeon, when the man cut his Pilegish into twelve pieces, which he sent to the twelve tribes of Israel in order to incite them to war against the inhabitants of Gibeon.

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Gen. 41:8; Dan. 2:1.

<sup>206</sup> From כָּנָן or כָּנָן "to establish, arrange;" חֶכֶן means "appointed measure or number" (Exod. 5:18; Ezek. 45:11); here, probably, "fixity, immovableness, soundness."

<sup>207</sup> Connected with פָּצַע (Exod. 21:25) "wound;" lit. "split open" (comp. Arab. فَصَم = "crack"); cf. Ps. 60:4.

<sup>208</sup> Appellation given to Ishmael (Mohammedan world generally); cf. Halevi, *Poems* ed. Harkavy, Vol. II, pp. 61, 151.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. Sanhedrin, 91a; see n. 143.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. 1 Kings 13:24, 25, 28; Jer. 36:30.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Exod. 8:10.

<sup>212</sup> Hapax., Cant. 2:11.

<sup>213</sup> Form not found; cf. Job 37:17 (חֲמִים); see Jer. 36:30 for the idea.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. Ps. 118:22.

<sup>215</sup> Cf. Ps. 126; אֲלֻמִּים found only once (Gen. 37:7), usually אֲלֻמֹּת (Gen. 37:7; Ps. 126:6); reminiscences of Joseph's dream.

<sup>216</sup> Monday, Shebat 26, 4837 A. M.; January 23, 1077; Jumada II, 24, 469. אַרְבַּע נְשָׂאֵר, Arabic influence. מִשְׁטֵימִים = 1009, if we consider the final ם as 600; cf. König, *Lehrgebäude der hebräischen Sprache*, Vol. II, Div. 1, p. 231.

<sup>217</sup> See "The Author."

<sup>218</sup> Cf. Ps. 33:4.

<sup>219</sup> The numerical value of קָמַם = 149. קָטַם = "cutting off, lopping, chopping off" (Arab. قَطَعَ = قَطَمَ); cf. Shebi'ith, II, 4; Sukkah, III, 4; *et al.*; refers to the destruction of the enemy.

<sup>220</sup> Cf. Prov. 3:15.